

Message Text

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TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SHUM, SCUL, CSCE, PL, US

SUBJECT: POLISH INTELLECTUALS MEET WITH DEPARTMENT
OFFICIALS

1. SUMMARY: FOUR POLISH CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS--TWO FROM
POLAND AND TWO WHO ARE U.S. RESIDENTS OF TEN YEARS'
STANDING AND PROFESSORS AT YALE AND PRINCETON--MET MAY 2
AND 3 WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS AND DIRECTOR
OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ANDREWS, RESPECTIVELY. THE
POLES WERE ACCOMPANIED BY MR. Z. DZIEKONSKI, A MEMBER OF
THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS. DISCUSSION CENTERED ON
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AND HOW WE SHOULD TREAT
THE POLISH HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT BOTH IN TERMS OF POLICY
AND PERSONAL CONTACTS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE GROUP INCLUDED MARCIN KROL, A HISTORIAN, WOJCIECH
KARPINSKI, AN EDITOR OF THE CULTURAL MONTHLY TWORCZOSC,
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PROFESSOR JAN GROSS OF YALE, AND PROFESSOR ANDRZEJ
RAPACZYNSKI OF PRINCETON. THE YOUNG MEN (IN THEIR
EARLY 30'S) STRESSED THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED BY THE DISSIDENT
MOVEMENT IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, SPRINKLING THEIR CON-
VERSATION WITH OBSERVATIONS TO THE EFFECT THAT THINGS
HAPPENING NOW--MEETINGS, "FLYING UNIVERSITIES," PUBLICA-
TIONS, ETC.--WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DREAMED OF A FEW YEARS AGO.

3. THE POLES SPOKE OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN BROAD TERMS, ACKNOWLEDGING DIFFERENCES AMONG THE VARIOUS ACTIVIST GROUPS INVOLVED, BUT STRESSING THEIR OVERALL UNITY OF DIRECTION, IF NOT OF TACTICS. THEY ALSO CLAIMED THE MOVEMENT ENJOYS WIDE ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT FROM THE SOCIETY, INCLUDING WORKERS. THIS SUPPORT, THEY NOTED, GROWS AS THE MOVEMENT CONTINUES ITS SUCCESSES IN A POLICY OF GRADUALLY WIDENING THE SCOPE OF ITS ACTIVITIES THROUGH FAITS ACCOMPLIS, SUCH AS THE RECENT, SUCCESSFUL LECTURE SERIES KNOWN AS THE "FLYING UNIVERSITY".

4. THEY DESCRIBED THE REGIME AS ALMOST RESTRAINED IN ITS RESPONSES TO THESE NEW PHENOMENA PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE MOVEMENT AND PARTIALLY BECAUSE THE ACTIVISTS ARE NOT ADVOCATING ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS TO THE PARTY. THE MOVEMENT IS EXPOUNDING THE LIMITS ON FREEDOMS WITHOUT DIRECTLY CHALLENGING THE SYSTEM. THEY NOTED TENDENCIES HOWEVER TOWARD POLICE VIOLENCE THAT HAD NOT EXISTED BEFORE 1976 AND EVINCED A CONCERN THAT A SEVERE CRACKDOWN COULD COME AT ANY TIME. THE GROUP AGREED IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED--THE DISSIDENTS, THE CHURCH, THE PARTY, AND NOT LEAST THE SOVIETS--TO KEEP THE SITUATION FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND. CONSEQUENTLY, THEY STRESSED THERE ARE BASIC LIMITS TO THE DISSIDENTS' AIMS, SUCH AS NOT CHALLENGING THE PARTY'S LEADING POSITION OR

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POLAND'S ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

5. DISSIDENT NUMBERS WERE ESTIMATED AT APPROXIMATELY 500 LEADING ACTIVISTS, 5 TO 10 THOUSAND ACTIVE SUPPORTERS, AND "MANY MORE" WHO SYMPATHIZE, PARTICIPATE THROUGH READING OR LISTENING AND OCCASIONALLY LEND QUIET SUPPORT. THE GROUP CLAIMED THAT SOME PARTY MEMBERS AND REGIME OFFICIALS ACTUALLY ASSIST ON OCCASION. THEY CITED AS AN EXAMPLE THE LOCAL PROSECUTORS WHO HAD FURNISHED INFORMATION ABOUT POLICE BRUTALITY WHICH WENT INTO A RECENT, KSS-(KOR)-PUBLISHED WHITE PAPER ON THE SUBJECT.

6. DESCRIBING THE SUPPORT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AS CAUTIOUS AND LARGELY SYMBOLIC, BUT NONETHELESS SIGNIFICANT, THE GROUP POINTED TO EARLIER CHURCH PRONOUNCEMENTS CON-DEMNING POLICE BRUTALITY AND, MORE RECENT ONES SUPPORTING THE "FLYING UNIVERSITY". THEY WERE ALSO GRATIFIED AT CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S RECENT REMARKS AT A POETRY SESSION IN ST. ANN'S CHURCH, WARSAW IN WHICH THE PRIMATE SPECIFICALLY PRAISED THE WRITER WIKTOR WOROSZYLSKI, WHO EDITS THE UNDERGROUND CULTURAL PUBLICATION "ZAPIS".

7. CONCERNING POLICE BRUTALITY, THE GROUP NOTED THAT SINCE 1976 THERE HAVE BEEN INCIDENTS OF BEATINGS, TORTURE

AND, ACCORDING TO THE KOR "WHITE PAPER," AT LEAST SEVEN FATALITIES RESULTING FROM MISTREATMENT BY POLICE. THIS IS A NEW PHENOMENON FOR POSTWAR POLAND, AND THE GROUP EXPRESSED CONCERN. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY FELT THE REGIME IS GENUINELY UNCERTAIN HOW TO RESPOND TO THE GROWING DISSIDENCE MOVEMENT. THE LEADERSHIP MAY WISH TO AVOID THE EMBARRASSMENT IN WESTERN EYES THAT VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY CAN BRING, BUT THERE ARE ALWAYS ZEALOTS AMONG THE LOWER-LEVEL SECURITY OFFICIALS WHO MAY WANT TO PRESS HARDER AGAINST THE DISSIDENTS. THE GROUP ACKNOWLEDGED THAT GENERALLY ONLY LEADING ACTIVISTS ARE SINGLED OUT FOR

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VIOLENCE, ALTHOUGH MINOR HARASSMENT AND SURVEILLANCE IS STEADY FARE FOR MANY OTHERS.

8. THE GROUP STRESSED THAT WESTERN MEDIA AND PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF SUCH BRUTALITY AS ACCOMPANIED THE RESUMPTION OF THE FLYING UNIVERSITY EARLY THIS YEAR IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THE SECURITY APPARATUS AND THE LEADERSHIP THAT THERE ARE POLICY RISKS INVOLVED IN ANY RESORT TO POLICE SUPPRESSION. IF SUCH INCIDENTS GO UNCHALLENGED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE REGIME MAY BEGIN TO FEEL IT CAN GET AWAY WITH INCREASED REPRESSION.

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9. LUERS ASKED IF OFFICIAL NOTICE TO POLISH OFFICIALS OF THE "HEALTHY" DEVELOPMENTS REPRESENTED BY SUCH PHENOMENA AS THE "FLYING UNIVERSITY" COULD ALSO HELP. THE POLES AGREED THIS COULD BE HELPFUL TOO, BUT THEY WERE ANXIOUS TO UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR WESTERN VIGILANCE AND CRITICISM OF REPRESSIVE METHODS.

10. IN THIS CONNECTION, LUERS ADVISED BETTER USE OF WESTERN MEDIA AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE DAILY PRESS MAY NOT BE THE BEST MEDIUM FOR GETTING ACROSS TO WESTERN READERS THE TRULY EXCITING NATURE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN POLAND. HE SUGGESTED SUCH VEHICLES AS THE WASHINGTON POST "OUTLOOK" SECTION AND THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS. LUERS POINTED OUT HOW EFFECTIVE TOM STOPPARD HAS BEEN IN BRINGING TO AMERICAN OFFICIAL AND INTELLECTUALS' ATTENTION THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE URGED EFFORTS TO SHED MORE LIGHT ON THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN THEM.

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11. IN HIS SESSION THE FOLLOWING DAY, ANDREWS RAISED THE QUESTION OF A FOREIGN PUBLISHING OUTLET. THE GROUP HAD INDICATED THAT A NEW CATHOLIC-SPONSORED PUBLICATION IN POLISH WILL SOON APPEAR IN PARIS. ANDREWS MENTIONED

HEARING SOME INTEREST IN SETTING UP A SIMILAR OUTLET HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH THE GROUP DISPARAGED THE EXISTING "POLISH REVIEW," THEY AGREED ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF HAVING SOMETHING IN THE U.S. AND CONCURRED THAT IT MIGHT BE EASIER TO BUILD AROUND AN EXISTING OPERATION THAN TO TRY TO START SOMETHING NEW.

12. THE GROUP HAD SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ABOUT WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION IN POLAND. BESIDES CONTINUED DIPLOMATIC PRESURE IN SPECIFIC INSTANCES--FOR EXAMPLE, TO PREVENT REPRESSION AND ENSURE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS TO DISSIDENTS--THEY STRESSED THE NEED TO HELP YOUNG INTELLECTUALS AND OTHERS LEARN ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND ITS METHODS, THROUGH EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, VISITS, AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES. THEY ALSO CALLED FOR TANGIBLE GESTURES OF "RECOGNITION" BY THE USG. "RECOGNITION," THEY FELT, COULD BE EXTENDED IN PART THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL, OPEN CONTACTS WITH DISSIDENTS AT THE US EMBASSY AND THROUGH OFFICIAL INVITATIONS TO KEY DISSIDENTS TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES.

13. REFERRING TO THE VISIT EARLY IN THE YEAR BY AMBASSADOR ALLARD LOWENSTEIN AND HIS MEETING AT THE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS' CLUB, THE GROUP ASKED FOR ADDITIONAL SUCH MEETINGS WITH OTHER USG OFFICIALS WHO VISIT POLAND. LUERS SAID THIS COULD BE ARRANGED. IN DISCUSSION THE FOLLOWING DAY ON THE SAME POINT, ANDREWS NOTED THAT THIS KIND OF MEETING CAN BE ARRANGED WHEN AN OFFICIAL COMES INDEPENDENTLY, BUT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO INCLUDE SUCH A MEETING WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, AN OFFICIAL

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COMES AT THE INVITATION OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE. THAT MINISTRY WOULD NORMALLY ARRANGE HIS SCHEDULE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE EMBASSY, AND IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR HIM TO ASK TO MEET ALSO WITH DISSIDENTS. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT AN OFFICIAL LIKE LUERS MIGHT COME ON A ROUTINE VISIT TO THE EMBASSY AND MEET CATHOLIC OR OTHER GROUPS EITHER THERE, AT THE

RESIDENCE, OR AT A CLUB DOWNTOWN. VANCE

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